

533 Another individual, who knows songs well, also composes them; one he made just before the 1919 dance was not adopted because it was not considered pleasing. The song leader customarily carries the drum.

527 In the middle of the last century it was customary to hold this dance during two nights. It was also danced in the daytime in the same form, except that at midday two women, who carried eagle tail feathers in each hand, stamped about inside the circle, waving their fans up and down with a pumping motion.

[301] At that time men sometimes wore a fox or coyote skin pendent from the back of the belt similar to that worn by Rock Jones in the 1918 dance. The weeds similarly worn by women in the dance of the next year were "just in fun."

177 There can be no question that this dance antedates both the California ghost dance of 1870-72 and the revival of 1889, although the latter as it appeared among the Plains tribes is clearly the same dance.¹
535 The particular form in which the ghost dance of 1889 took root among the Havasupai has been described by a Hopi visitor who saw it in July, 1891.²
769 After a general head washing, the dance was given, as described above, for four days. Two eagle tail feathers had been tied to the top of the central pole, to which a man would climb, clinging until exhausted, when he would slide insensible to the foot of the pole. On being revived by the shamans he described his visit to the dead who were soon to return. The occasion is well remembered by my informant. It was practised only one year, being discontinued because they did not like it. All the men who climbed the pole died soon after. At that time they heard of a Paiute shaman, named Panamanta (Panamint?), living near St. George, Utah, who preached the doctrine that the dead, who had instructed him to so inform the people, were to return to life. A delegation went with the Walapai to be instructed; two of them are still living. The Havasupai accepted this doctrine and still believe it according to Sinyella. Manakadja said that the Paiute gave resurrection as the reason for burial in place of cremation, but they lied, for the dead did not return. Possibly, the occasion of the women falling into a trance within the dance circle, seen by James about 1900, represents a recrudescence of the ghost dance.³

MASKED DANCE

535 A performance of masked dancers (*gidji'nd*, both dance and participant) was discontinued twenty years ago. Anyone could inaugurate the dance, which was open to all men. It was given for good fortune, rain,

¹Mooney, (b), 920, 921.

²Ibid. 811, 812.

³James, (b), 228.

RELIGION

Religious matters occupy but a minor place in Havasupai life. 771
 Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the supernatural is neither ex- [796]
 tensive nor developed in systematic form.

The paragraphs which follow express religious notions as they are
 known to a layman. It is regrettable that it was not possible to obtain [124]
 the viewpoint of the shaman. Of the two living at the time of my visits,
 one died during the second winter; the other is quite deaf.

SOULS, SPIRITS AND SHAMANISM

Each human has a soul in his heart; the word, *yuwaffis*, refers to both 774
 soul and heart. It leaves his body at death, but not when he dreams or
 lies unconscious (*k'édjampik*, a little dead). More explicitly, when a
 man dreams that he is in a foreign land, he sees (or feels) his fleshly
 self as actor, not his soul. To be sure when he wakes he is lying where he
 fell asleep, he is fully aware that he has been dreaming, yet he offers no
 explanation why others saw his slumbering form when he thought him-
 self in another place.

The soul of a dead man may appear as a ghost (*ámigé*¹); this is short 775 ●
 and like a shadow. Shamans alone commonly see ghosts, or rather, their
 familiar spirits seek them out at night and report their doings, yet others [187]
 may see them. When a ghost appears to a man it is a portent that a
 relative will soon die, or else it is to cause the man himself to sicken.
 Ghosts are said always to be malignant; a man who heard and saw one
 would sicken that very day and fail fast. People are afraid to go about [769]
 alone at night, especially near the burial ground, which at any time is
 dangerous, for fear ghosts will frighten or seize them. Yet the
 following instances show mere sight or contact is not in itself harmful.

Bufo saw one near her camp one night. He looked like an ordinary mortal;
 he was bare-headed. He passed on down the canyon. In the morning, the whole
 family examined the spot but found no footprints.

Arthur saw a ghost in the brush at the head of the creek. He looked like a man,
 except that his head was much larger.

Pete also saw one. He met him near dawn in Lee Canyon. The ghost said that
 he wanted Pete to dismount and sit down to talk with him, so he did so. Pete nodded
 and fell into a dose. When it was nearly daylight, the ghost said, "It is light now;
 let us go," and he went ahead. When the ghost was twenty feet away, Pete thought
 he would keep up with him and talk, but the faster he whipped his horse, the more the
 ghost drew away from him. The ghost led him along a trail following a ledge that

¹The word *k'édjiddid* was also given for ghost in an association test.

715 was used by people long ago. Pats cut across by a new road to intercept him, there he waited and watched, but the ghost never came. Perhaps the ghost made him drowsy. The ghost did not look exactly like a man, rather like a man's shadow. The horse was not afraid at first, but by and by the ghost looked like a man; then he shied, bucked, and refused to follow him.

[774] The souls of dead men are said to go to the north where they live well, but what the hereafter is like and even its location is indefinite in the minds of informants. It is not known if the soul of a suicide also goes there. Objects have no souls, but one informant stated that dead trees and weeds were in this land of souls.¹

177 Reference is made in a myth to Pagiyóga (man+to draw after) who
775 draws souls into the sky. According to Sinyella this concept existed when
776 he was a boy, whereas Pagiyóva (man+make alive again), who makes people live after they die, is the white man's God. Manakadja identifies Pagiyóva with Dudjipa, one of the two culture heroes.

774 The older speculative writers on the origins of religion have placed
822 so much weight on the savage's confusion of his identity or his soul, or both, with certain illusory phenomena, as reflections, shadows, dream apparitions, etc., that a consideration of the Havasupai ideas may well be given at this place. Neither the dream-actor, the reflection of one's face in the water, nor one's shadow bears any relation whatever to the soul. The attitude to the mirrored image is our own. Two words for shadow are used; *wttagowd*², that of an animal (man, dog, or insect), and *yd'dsat-yd*, that of any other object (cloud, tree, or house). The distinction is of name only; the shadows do not differ in kind.

The mirrored image goes with me; when I leave the pool it leaves with me. When the sun shines, my shadow shows; when it ceases to shine perhaps it returns to my body. (Sinyella).

I think my shadow goes to the sun, because it fades as the sun ceases to shine. No; when I walk into another shadow, mine becomes merged in it. Wherever I go, it goes. At night it may be with me, or may have gone off somewhere; I do not know. (Jew)

776 Spirits, in distinction to souls, are limited in number. Almost
787 without exception they are shaman's familiars. Nobody has seen a spirit (*samda*)³. Each shaman has one within his chest. When he wants to discover something he sends the spirit traveling, perhaps for a day and night. The shaman goes out into the darkness; his spirit is heard hollering and whistling to him from a distance. It re-enters his mouth, makes noises, and talks. The shaman shuts his eyes and apparently sings, but in reality it is the spirit telling what it saw.

¹No food offerings are made to the dead.

²Possibly identical with *gicimé* (doctor, medicine).

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

To the Mouth of the Havasu

576 **C** Late one evening Frances and I were lingering at the supper table talking over the events of the day, when there came a sharp knock on the door. This was surprising as a Havasupai did not knock. He framed his face with his hands and looked in through the window or threw the door open and stalked in, accustomed to latchless doors. Also, after darkness fell he stayed close to his own campfire and the living, for the ghosts of the dead walked at night. The person outside our door was not an Indian.

775
000 Frances and I were the only white people in the canyon. Miss Goenawein and Mr. Burnett had driven to Seligman on business. The night was dark, and neither of us felt too brave when we opened the door to a stranger, since we were completely alone, the policeman being at home a mile farther down the canyon.

George Wharton James, author of several books on Indians of the Southwest, introduced himself:

Mr. James had established his headquarters at the home of a village Indian whose friendship he had won on previous visits to the tribe. The time he had come prepared for a trip he believed no white person had ever made—the descent of the Havasu Canyon to its junction with the Grand Canyon. He had engaged Ute, a very old Indian, blind in one eye, as guide. He suggested that the ride might be interesting for us.

We couldn't miss this adventure! I had determined that I would not leave the school until I had followed the Havasu stream from

The Day the Mail Did Not Go 173

I tried, but swallowed hulls with the meats, so gave it up.

Kate replenished her supply by pouring dried seed¹ into her basket, scraping in live coals, and tossing them together with a rhythmic motion that kept seed and coals in a lively dance until the former were delicately browned. Changing the motion, she eliminated the coals as dexterously as a miner washes sand and dirt from his panned gold. Kate was ready to mill her second batch. Her ample body overlapping her fat legs called for a health talk on the dangers of overweight, but these carefree villagers had robbed me of the mood to lecture. Even to improve the health and the appearance of her body, I could not wipe that look of supreme enjoyment from Kate's pleasant face.

An older woman, bent over a basket she was weaving, sat on a blanket near the entrance to the house, her face lined with anxiety. In working out her design she was using the black bark of the devil's claw (two-pronged seed pod of the unicorn plant) against the white inner bark of the osier. There was something arresting about the woman's dejected posture and the wild, frightened look in her black eyes.

"Yunosi make new basket," Kate volunteered. She held up the basket she was using to show me its burned and broken condition. "I burn," she explained with a giggle. "Make new. I use."

Yunosi! That name explained the drawn muscles of the woman's face, the look of fright in her eyes. Only the previous week Bob had come to the office asking for medicine for Yunosi. His sister, he called her; but the terms sister, brother and cousin were loosely used to denote almost any blood relationship. From him I had learned her story.

As the wife of Chief Navaho's son, she had held an important position in the tribe. Her husband had been a good mixer; he had liked and befriended white men, and had learned enough English to converse intelligently, and from him Yunosi had learned many English expressions. A deep and lasting love blessed their union, so that after his death, she had more than the usual fear that his spirit would hover near her, unable to leave the one to whom he was so devoted.

2. The sunflower seeds — Analyst]

174 *People of the Blue Water*

159 Her fear became an obsession. She could not sleep, for she was
158 haunted by visions of her husband returning in the darkness to
175 be at her side. She would cry out to him, not in her native tongue,
but in the English he had taught her, calling him by his English
name, "Why you come, Tom, why you come?" She would point
him out to others in the lodge and ask pitifully, "You no see? He
there. Why you no see him?" Their inability to see him only in-
creased her confusion. The hallucination tortured her night after
weary night. And her repeated question as she stared and pointed
crazily at the apparition no one else could see caused the Indians
to give her the new name, "You No See," which soon was short-
ened to Yunosi. For this affliction Bob had asked me to prescribe
medicine, but since cough sirup, castor oil or quinine offered no
hope, I sent him away empty-handed.

When I saw how real her suffering was, I longed to help her
find peace. As tactfully as I could I explained my belief about
death, but she sat like a carved image, with terror in her eyes.
Watching her weave her intricate design, I took comfort in the
thought that in this tribe of too few women, Yunosi would be
wooed again and in establishing a new home, the hallucinations
would surely be forgotten.

Yet as I walked back along the trail, I could not shake the
memory of Yunosi's terror. Childish feuds over trampled corn
and stolen blankets were one thing, but this first encounter with
a fear so deeply grounded in myth and superstition made me
realize how much a part of their living culture it was; and it
would become the heritage of our school children, unless counter-
acted by education.

000 But the sun's rays were creeping down the white cliffs. Before
long Vesnor would be herding the children into the schoolhouse.
I would need a more substantial breakfast than a few sunflower
seed to fortify me against the further problems of a day in that
crowded classroom.

178 *People of the Blue Water*

176 tails dangling at the back. The arms, legs and bodies of other
527 dancers were painted white, or white with contrasting horizontal
535 stripes. These grotesque figures added color to the dance and
302 stirred the imagination with old-time fire.

176 In this dance, as in the Walapai mourning ceremony, the village
527 crone had a unique part. Mr. James had told us of seeing women
535 rush to the center pole during the Peach Dance, and, encircling it
186 with their hands, whirl madly about it until they dropped from
exhaustion. He had been present when several women darted into
the center of the circle, screaming, dancing, foaming at the mouth
and pulling their hair as they dashed against one another or against
the central post, until they fell in a stupor.

If one of these prone creatures blocked the path of the circling
dancers, she was dragged by the hair to one side where relatives
cared for her until consciousness returned.

The men looked with tolerance on such hysteria but did not
indulge in it. As a rule they were rather stern, self-disciplined, but
jolly too.

177 This Havasupai dance may have included some of the ritual of
176 the Ghost Dance, which at one time was the accepted religion of
many tribes. It is said to have originated in 1870 based on the
175 doctrines of a Paiute shaman, who claimed to have visited the dead
191 in their far-off home, and learned from them that they would
return to join the living. There seems to be very little information
available as to the introduction of the cult at this early period or
of its influence on the tribes who accepted its precepts. Its value
to the cause lay in the fact that it paved the way for the revived
Ghost Dance in 1890, which won converts among the Indians from
the Sioux in the north to the tribes in California.

The Paiutes were responsible for both its origin and for its
revival; the latter came about in a strange manner.

177 Wovoka, a Paiute, was a young lad when his father, described
196 as a "dreamer," died. The boy, through his work among white
191 people on a ranch, learned some English and gained a little
82-1 knowledge of the white man's religion. When he was about thirty

The Peach Dance 179

years old, there occurred a phenomenon that terrified the Paiutes, 177
an eclipse of the sun. The Indians interpreted the eclipse as an 1796
attack by some ferocious monster on their god, the Sun. The 1791
darkened sun was a dying sun; fear plunged the tribe into wild 1781
demonstrations, shouting, the firing of guns, any act that would
frighten the monster and force him to abandon his wicked purpose.

During this eclipse, Wovoka became unconscious—he is said 177
to have been ill at the time—and was lifted up to the Other World. 1796
Here in a place of celestial beauty he saw all those who had died, 1791
happy and ageless in their faraway home. While here he was 1775
taught a dance which must be performed at stated intervals for 1787
five consecutive days. Wovoka returned to earth, recited his ex-
periences among the dead and taught his people the dance, which
became known as the Ghost Dance. He instilled in their minds
the belief that by performing these dances as instructed, they
would bring their dead back to dwell with the living in eternal
happiness on a regenerated earth. This seems to have been an
effort on his part to incorporate into his native religion the creed
of the resurrection as he imperfectly understood it.

Disciples introduced the tenets of this strange religion to other 177
tribes where the ritual of this cult, like that of the peyote, was 1796
made to conform to the will of the cult's tribal leader. In their 1786
determination to recall the dead, emotions ran high. In some 1787
tribes, men, women and children danced wildly, waving their
arms, contorting their bodies, until emotional and physical exhaus-
tion caused them to drop unconscious to the ground. While in this
state they, too, entered the land of unearthly beauty and peace
where they talked to dead friends and relatives.

In other tribes, the center pole held the "power" to transport a 177
worshiper to the Other World. The Havasupai tied eagle feathers 1796
at its tip. To induce the trance, a man climbed to within reach 1787
of the feathers where he clung until he became unconscious and
fell to the ground. When revived by the medicine man, the pole-
climber was expected to relate what he had seen and heard in that
far-off land.

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are suggestive. They are: Pa-a-hu-ya' and In-ya-
ja-al'-o, the former signifying "black," the other "the
rising sun." At-nahl, whose name means a "sack," is the
second in importance, and the youngest is Ma-tō-mā',
commonly known as Bob. I have just asked Lanoman
which is the best medicine-man of the three, and his
reply when I asked "Who makes the sick people well
the quickest?" was: "All same. All no good. All
make people dead pretty quick!"

Death is supposed to be, in every case, the departure
of the spirit from the body, and when the sick person is
approaching death the friends and relatives, led by the
medicine-man, will often sit around the invalid and sing
their petitions to the departing spirit in the hope that it
may be led to repent and return to the body. If the
patient recovers, the medicine-man takes the credit
(and what pay he can get) for the return of the spirit,
and goes about in high feather, recounting to all he
meets the new instance of his wonderful and occult
power.

One of the greatest insults that can be offered to the
friends of a dead Havasupai is to refer to him. The
reason given to me for this is that whenever a thought
is sent after a dead person it either prevents his spirit
continuing the journey to Shi-pa-pu, or leads him to
desire to return to earth, neither of which are good for
a Havasupai.

One of the school teachers informed me that she once,
in reconvening the school after a holiday, read out the
name of a child that had recently died. The moment
the name was pronounced several of both boys and girls
burst out, some into a wild wailing and others into fierce
and angry denunciations of the wicked white woman

260 THE INDIANS OF THE

551 who had thus arrested the spirit of the deceased on its
576 journey to the underworld.
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755 The last night of our first visit the Havasupais had a
Sick Dance. When one of their number is very sick or
[535] about to die, the medicine-man summons the principal
men and women of the camp to dance around him, in
the hope of driving away the disease. It so happened
that during our visit one of the young bucks was very
sick, and a dance was ordered for Saturday evening.
It was quite a distance away from our camp, and Vesna,
whose guest we were that night, informed us that we
would not be welcomed. The welcome would have
been overlooked but for our need of rest, and as it was
a mile or two away, it was decided not to attend,
although we could hear the incantations at intervals
during the night. The dance, however, was similar to
such dances elsewhere. The sick man was placed in the
open air and a circle formed around him, while a slow
and solemn dance was engaged in by those in the circle,
and all participated in the chanting of an incantation.
This was kept up during the entire night, the voices of
the singers at times pitched to a very high key. As
soon as one in the circle grew tired, he dropped out
and another took his place, but the dance and chant
never ceased. If a sick man survives the noise and din
and wakefulness of this until morning, it is probable that
his vitality will carry him through, and he will recover.

763 If death is thought to be certainly near, the best
clothes of the wardrobe are brought out and placed
upon the dying person. A woman's best dress is not
too good for her to die in, and a man's finest garments,
even to the broadcloth cast-off "Prince Albert" re-
ceived through the kindness of some white friend in

776 Spier (p. 289) identified two gods, "Pagiyoa, who draws souls into the
177 sky," and "Pagiyoa, who makes people live after they die." The former
787 apparently is an earlier concept native to the Havasupai, and the latter the
white man's god, although Spier's informant identified Pagiyoa with Dudjipa, one
of the two culture heroes. The description of Pagiyoa given by two medicine
men to this investigator showed considerable Christian influence. One of
them, who had seen Pagiyoa in dream experiences, described the long,
white robes, "skin like a white man," and other details common in so many
representations of Christ. There seems to be neither a clear concept nor
agreement among Havasupai regarding the nature and attributes of the tribal
deity.

Shamanism

756 Three types of shamans, a curing shaman, a weather shaman, and a
specialist in treating "fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the
deer, etc." were reported by Spier in 1928 (p. 277). There has been no
shaman of the latter two types in recent years. The need for a weather
shaman to bring rain is difficult to visualize today when the Havasupai have
abandoned life on the plateau and are settled in a place where water is
always available and where floods have caused considerable destruction over
the last half century. Rather, the need appears to be for a means to stop
[844] rain, a power which pregnant women alone possess. There is little occasion
for hunting deer, and the need for one who specializes in fractures, wounds,
and snake bites is on the wane, white physicians being almost invariably
sought for such treatment.

Shamans, who are the specialists in religious affairs, have more de-
tailed knowledge concerning the supernatural than do laymen, but the pri-
mary role of a shaman is that of medical practitioner. Traditionally, a
[755] Havasupai shaman uses the sucking technique, applying his mouth directly
to a critical part of a patient's anatomy from which a foreign object, said to
cause illness, may be extracted.

Havasupai laymen acknowledge that white doctors are superior for cer-
tain types of medical care. There remains, however, one type of illness
which the shaman treats more successfully than does a medical doctor who
would fail to diagnose it properly. This is "Indian sickness," an illness
caused directly or indirectly by a ghost.

775 Fear of ghosts is strongly developed. Sight of one may cause death as
well as illness. Adults express anxiety about leaving their homes alone
after dark because they may "see a ghost," but in practice most of them do
not hesitate to go about after dark. One shaman reported that shamans fre-
quently see ghosts or dream of them, and that nearly all other Havasupai
[787] see ghosts during their lifetimes. Ghost fear is intensified immediately
following the death of a relative; the ghost is believed to remain for some

775 time near those he knew in life. Relatives commonly witness signs that such a ghost is lurking about although they may not see him.

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The Havasupai are confirmed users of the sweat lodge. While a sweat bath is regarded as therapeutic and the ritual used has supernatural connotation, the sweat lodge serves primarily as a place of assembly for men who make a social occasion of such gatherings, visiting, joking, and discussing tribal affairs. Few women use the sweat lodge, and when one does so, it is usually in company with her husband or another woman.

Mission Activity

797 Early Christian influences in Supai seem to have been negligible. The Episcopal Church sent missionaries on infrequent visits to the canyon, beginning in 1927. A resident nurse, a devout Christian, held prayer meetings and Sunday School in the school building for several years during the 1930's. In 1939, the Episcopal Church formally recognized its "newest mission among the Havasupai," placing the Rev. Cecil Harris in charge (Jenkins, n.d.). Monthly meetings with the aid of interpreters were held in Supai, and Jim Crook, a recent Havasupai convert to Christianity, held Sunday School during the Rev. Harris' absence. After attending Cook Christian Training School for Indians in Phoenix for four years, beginning in 1940, Jim Crook became an evangelist, but he has been inactive in recent years.

In 1948, the Episcopal Church obtained from Jim Crook some land on the reservation and began construction of St. Andrew's Chapel, a quonset hut which was flown in sections by helicopter into the canyon and there erected on a stone foundation. That year, Miss Laetitia Viele became resident missionary in Supai, initiating a program including Christian devotional meetings, first aid treatment, community social activities, and special educational and social activities for children. While the missionary rendered many services to the community and had an active program for children, the adult attitude toward Christianity generally remained apathetic. The Episcopal Mission was closed in July, 1956. Its building was leased temporarily to the United Indian Mission, an interdenominational organization. Mr. and Mrs. David Chambers have been the resident missionaries since that time and have had the active cooperation of the resident agent and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Victor Collins, in mission work. Under this leadership an adult program has been stressed and numerous adults are now active church members.

[562] Havasupai women are at present showing greater interest in Christianity than are the men. One young woman is a graduate of Cook Christian Training School in Phoenix and another is attending. Under the leadership of Mrs. Chambers, women attend a weekly prayer service and a teacher training class. Several of the women alternate in teaching the junior Sunday School class.

were witnessed. Parents are seldom ruffled by small offenses, and the admonition "don't," used frequently, is usually spoken in a calm tone. However, certain men while drunk have brutally beaten a child, although a man's wife is more frequently the object of a blow in such circumstances. It is doubtful that severe beating of children occurred with any frequency before alcohol was available to the Havasupai.

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Boys may be slightly more aggressive toward girls than toward each other. Both sexes behave aggressively toward dogs, but girls probably less so. Adults only occasionally interfere in behalf of a dog.

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Adults seldom tease children and they try to prevent children from teasing one another. However, in certain families, there seems to be an established "pecking order" from eldest to youngest. Temper tantrums are expressed by spiteful or sulking behavior. As a rule, such displays are ignored rather than pacified or punished. One child of five when slapped pummelled his mother's legs, but she ignored this behavior. Another boy of three, when reprimanded verbally by his grandmother, with whom he lives, whacked the ground close to her with his lariat. When she ignored this, he dangled his rope in one of the cooking pans on the fire while watching her with an expression that plainly said he was trying to antagonize her. She did not look at him. He whimpered and sulked for a few minutes, then turned away and soon was playing happily. Only one girl, a child of nine, was observed in a similar tantrum. She cried and sulked alternately for an hour and a half, while her mother tried to coax or bribe her into a better mood. The girl was upset because she wanted to be taken to a white doctor to have a bee sting bandaged. At length she was pacified with a candy bar obtained at some inconvenience to two other persons. This behavior apparently was not unusual; this mother was indulgent with all her children, and especially so with this girl. (The latter incident occurred at Grand Canyon, not in Supai.)

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Fear of ghosts is transmitted from early childhood. A very young child is threatened by being told that a ghost will "get him." Adults do not ridicule children who are afraid to leave the house after dark, nor do they force them to go out unaccompanied. Children are sometimes frightened into obedience by being told that they will be carried off by a cow, an eagle, a coyote, a mountain lion, a wildcat, a snake, a lizard, or a frog. However, the threats concerning animals become less effective than the ghost threat as a child grows older and becomes familiar with the characteristics of such animals.

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Illegitimacy

It is said that there were very few illegitimate children in former times in contrast to the present. The validity of this statement may rest upon one or more of the following factors: (1) a postulated change in the

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462 that his womenfolk may have assisted in this casual way in former times
[476] when hides were tanned in plentiful supply for trade that would benefit the
[281] whole family.

Clothing manufacture was men's work, and a man cut and stitched for
[294] himself and all his dependents. However, as might be expected, influences
[177] brought a reversal of sex roles in this occupation. Availability of woven
materials and of ready-made clothing brought a change of style also.
Cotton dresses at first were stitched by hand, but today a few women use
treadle sewing machines. Spier (personal communication, 1957) records
[114] that there were a couple of treadle sewing machines in use in 1918. All
men's clothing and much of that worn by women is purchased ready-to-wear.

As mentioned previously, puberty dresses continued to be made by men
as long as they were in vogue, and a few of the older men still know how to
make them.

The art of chipping stone points has been in disuse for so long that
[324] several informants denied that the Havasupai ever made them. One old
[321] man explained that old men in his youth told him that points for arrows and
spears came down to the earth on lightning, fell on trees, and slid to the
ground unbroken for Havasupai use. Another man said that the Havasupai
obtained stone points by picking up those shot at them by Apaches.

At the present time, points of fine workmanship and a variety of types
and sizes may be picked up in the canyon, but younger informants urged me
not to let the older people know I had collected any. As one woman
[175] phrased it, "In the old days they belonged to people who are dead, and it
might bring a ghost around if you handle them." The same request was
made concerning potsherds, which abound in a profusion of types. However,
an archeologist was able to obtain permission to excavate in the canyon a
couple of years later.

Women's Work

Women, exclusively, plaited sleeping mats, while both men and women
braided yucca or tanned hide rope. It is likely that both sexes had a hand
in preparation of materials and fabrication of the rubbed cedar bark slow
match and of braided cotton cord which formed part of the strike-a-light.
Springs and mattresses, hemp or nylon rope, and matches have replaced
these articles, although young boys and men occasionally braid quirts.
[177] Women commonly made rabbitskin blankets, now no longer used, but they
[297] were sometimes assisted by old men. Cradleboards, still used for every
baby, are made by women who also prepare the materials, but a woman
may send her husband to gather willows for this purpose.

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534 almost dark, she could see in the distance the outline of the moun-
 773 tains of the San Francisco peaks and nearby to the north the Canyon of the Colorado and to the west the Canyon of the Havasu. The flood had lasted so long that Pu-keh-eh had grown to womanhood. Seeing the water gone, she came out and began to weave baskets and make pottery as her father had taught her before the flood. She was very lonely and longed for her father, but she had to live alone a long time in the dark dismal world.

Many months of darkness had passed but one morning the darkness began to disappear and in the east a faint brightness appeared. The maiden knew that the triumphant sun was coming to conquer the long night and bring light into the world. During the time of waiting for light the girl had a great longing for a child. But where was a father for her child? There wasn't a man in the world.

When the sun rose in the east she decided he should be the father of her child. She conceived and in the fullness of time bore a son whom she called the Son of the Sun.

As time passed she again longed for maternity. Later Pu-keh-eh had a daughter. When these two children grew up they married and thus became the progenitors of the human race. The Havasupai were created first, then the Apache, the Hualapai, the Hopi, the Paiute, and last the Navaho. Tochopa told them where they should live. The Havasupai and Apache were to stay in Cataract Canyon, the former on one side of the creek and the latter on the other side, and occupy the country east to the Little Colorado and south to the San Francisco mountains. The Hualapai were to remain in the country west of Cataract Canyon, the Navaho, and Hopi east of the Little Colorado, and the Paiute north of the Big Colorado.

For a long time the Havasupai and Apache lived together in peace, but one day an Apache man saw a beautiful Havasupai woman. He fell in love with her and longed to take her for his wife; but she was the wife of another. He finally called upon Hokomata, the wicked god, to help him. Hokomata, always glad to make trouble, told the Apache to pay no attention to the restrictions placed upon him by Tochopa, but to go to the home of the woman and kill her husband, then take her for his own wife. The Apache heeded this evil advice, killed the man and took the woman for his own. When the Havasupai discovered the crime that had been committed and the disgrace this Apache had brought upon them, they counselled together and decided to drive the Apaches from the Canyon. No longer should they be one people. They commanded the Apache people to leave, but the latter refused to move. The Havasupai then set upon them and drove them far to the south. Although they were originally brothers, there has been a feeling of enmity between them ever since.

771 Religion is only slightly developed and occupies but a minor place in Havasupai life. "Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the supernatural is neither comprehensive nor developed in systematic form."⁽²⁾

[752] Prayers are addressed to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water. When praying to the sun a man draws his hands down over his face as he blows to brush the evil away.

• 776 Every human has a soul in his heart which leaves his body at death, but not when he dreams or is unconscious. The soul of the dead may
 [774] appear as a ghost; in a short dark form. Usually only shamans see
 756 ghosts, or rather, their familiar spirits pursue them at night and give
 [757] account of their conduct; occasionally others see them. If a ghost
 appears to a person it is an evil omen—a member of his family will
 soon die or he may meet with an accident. Ghosts are said always to be
 775 forebearers of evil; anyone seeing or hearing one will immediately be-
 769 come sick. Children and some older people are afraid to go about alone

(2) Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, p. 278.

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Havasupai

THE HUALAPAI

after dark, especially near a graveyard, which is dangerous at any time, for fear of encountering ghosts. ⁷⁷³ [769]

Souls of the dead are said to go to the north where they live much the same as here on earth, but what the hereafter is like or its location may be indefinite, even among the oldest members of the tribe. Objects such as rocks and trees have no souls. ⁷⁷⁴ [774]

Spirits in distinction to souls, are limited. In almost every case they are *shaman's* familiars. No one has seen a spirit, but every *shaman* claims to have one within his chest. When he wants to find out something he sends his spirit out for awhile—probably a day and night. When he goes out into the night, his spirit is heard yelling to him from a distance. His spirit reenters his mouth and makes peculiar noises, and talks. The *shaman* closes his eyes and appears to be singing, but in reality it is his spirit relating what it saw. The distinctive qualities of the spirit are not usually described, but those specified include, a hawk, a wolf, and the spirit of the mythical being who made the deer. A *shaman* sings over a child subject to fainting spells and finds that when his mother was first pregnant she heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; it is the hawk. In some cases the *shaman* carries off the hawk spirit and the child lives. ⁷⁷⁶ [755]

Although the Havasupai address their prayers to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water, spirits are not generally localized. ⁷⁷⁶

A long time ago the mythical people created spirits and put them somewhere, so one can dream of them, get them, and thus become *shamans*. Spirits are not about in the trees, rocks, wind, but one is in an ever-flowing pool of water located in a side canyon beside the Colorado River in the Hualapai country. The pool has a rough rock wall around it. When people look down on it from the rim of the canyon, the water wells up although it is not hot. Scattered about are arrowheads, shell beads, and deer bones with incised decorations; probably placed there by some prehistoric people. ⁷⁷⁵ [755]

A number of mythical beings are referred to in legends, especially *Pagiyoga*, who draws souls into the sky, and *Pagiyova*, who makes people live after they die. The latter is said to be the white man's God. However, these are not prayed to nor do they address the cultural heroes in prayer. ⁷⁸² [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, with the exception of a few minor ailments due to natural causes, failure to observe taboos, or because of evil magical practices. It is thought that after a *shaman* dies he may send his spirit into the body of some man who in an improper manner may imitate his songs. That, the creator of deer sent his spirit into the hunter who carelessly killed the animals; and that, the spirit of the hawk enters the bodies of unborn children. ⁷⁸¹ [75]

Among the Havasupai there are *shamans* who cure disease, those who set broken bones, treat wounds, fractures and snake bites, and *shamans* who study weather conditions and claim to bring rain. Apparently all three types dream, but only those who cure have familiar spirits. Men only can become *shamans*. ⁷⁵⁶ [463]

Shamanistic power is obtained by dreaming or by inheritance. Some men dream of rain, lightning or thunder, they also dream of a song to make rain, then they use that song and become weather *shamans*. Others inherit their power from a maternal uncle or grandfather. ⁷⁸⁷ [734]

The rattle of a *shaman* is a dried gourd mounted on a wooden shaft which extends entirely through it. A collar is cut on the handle and a buckskin thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft so it will not come off. Holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibrous structure inside to drop out so the sound will not have a muffled tone.

When a *shaman* is called in by a relative to cure some member of the family he arrives and performs at night. He sings over the patient while he holds the clenched knuckles of the left hand against the patient's forehead, and in his right hand he holds the rattle and slowly twists his body from one side to the other. He sucks out the ⁷⁵⁵ [756]

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574 gether, and piteously begged me, by look and gesture, not to resent the liberty he had taken, or deprive him of his treasures.

764 When a man dies among them, he is bathed and painted, dressed in all his richest apparel, and laid, with his face toward the rising sun, to await the funeral ceremonials. Throughout the fields and orchards, usually with corn and sunflowers growing all around them, with vines and brambles covering them, are scattered little mounds of earth and ashes. These are the funeral pyres.

[768] Over the summit, a huge collection of wood is piled, and the dead, together with his various possessions, is laid upon the pile. This is lighted by the son and heir, or nearest other relative, and, as the flames shoot up and envelop the body, he who applied the light throws all his worldly possessions, together with those he has inherited, upon the burning pyre, slaying his favorite dogs and horses, and adding them to the last sacrifice. Upon the wings of the last film of smoke the soul of his father rises, to wander whither it will, — to come back, and bring the summer rain-clouds, to minister in many ways to the wants of his children; while the naked mourner sadly wends his way homeward, "to begin life anew, as did his father," he will tell you.

• [775]
975 The spirits of those for whom the last offering has been neglected become unhappy and evil ghosts, which, together with the souls of the enemy whose scalp has not been taken and burned, [727] torment the living with the weird voices of the night, or the lone moanings of the wind on the pine-covered mesas; or, [754] as demons of disease and death, obey the behests of the dread sorcerer, or war against the good offices of the happier souls.

821 They are fairly acquainted with the
221 principal constellations, giving them
805 names, and regulating the planting and
hunting seasons by their movements.

[P 556A]

there was a vague concept of some powerful aspect coming from the air and sun which, together with the heart, was a condition of life. "When the heart quits, you know they died." We could elicit no additional data as to when or how the soul entered an individual except that it came from the east.

When a person died, the soul journeyed to the sky people. Shamans reported that the soul left the body through the pulse area in the throat. The soul went straight up in the air and then wandered around until it saw "that narrow path that leads to the place of the dead." Two lay informants, however, remarked that the soul stayed with or near the body of a buried person if the body had been interred with the head to the west. [The apparent discrepancy probably stems from the shamans' over-concern with the spirits and their exorcism.] The souls of shamans depart for a separate place in the sky. If a person committed suicide his soul would go to the west to join those of all people who wanted to die. There was a spirit being in the west who was considered malevolent and who attempted to influence people to his cause. To the east was another spirit who attempted to counteract his western counterpart. These looked like humans but did not have human substance. The one in the east was white; the one in the west was black. When they quarreled, the eastern spirit made half the world white, and the western spirit made the other half black. They quarreled often over individuals, each trying to attract people to his sphere.

It was believed that at death a person became unconscious and had no knowledge of what was happening. However, after death, while the deceased was thought to know his identity, his relatives, and where he had lived, he would not remember his illness. After death, souls took either the form of a person or of a household pet such as a cat or a dog, and could return as ghosts. This usually happened at night. If a ghost attempted to return and communicate with a close friend, the friend would become sick and die. If ghosts appeared in a darkened form or "like a fire burning red," they were considered more harmful. Occasionally people saw ghosts of the dead walking by or heard them making noise. The body below the waist appeared normal, but the upper portions were without head or arms. It was wrong to try to touch a ghost; one might become weak. If one cried out, one would fall unconscious. A shaman would be called to sing for one who saw a ghost. The shaman would walk over the area where the ghost had been encountered in an attempt to learn why it had wanted the person who saw it to become sick and die. The shaman then would sing, urging the ghost to leave. Shamans, of course, sang over the patient. One informant, referring to an event that occurred about 1920, said that one evening when it was nearly dark he had seen two persons standing by his house. At first he thought they were neighbors, but noticed that they were dressed in white [an Anglo concept?] and had no heads. It appeared as though smoke was coming from their necks. He watched a short while and saw them "turn to nothing."

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775 The next morning he went to a [Walapai] shaman, Dr. Tommy, from the Pine Springs-Diamond Creek area. The shaman told him that he, also, had seen the ghosts. One was a man who had died not long before. The shaman had talked with the ghosts, who indicated that they meant no harm. But the shaman ordered them back to the grave. They were not seen again, and Dr. Tommy did not sing over the patient.

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[788] If one dreamed of a deceased person or "a dead horse you used to keep," one would, in the dream, accompany the ghost and eat with him. Upon waking, the person would exhale audibly and forcefully, at the same time brushing the hands away from the face and saying, "I don't want to go with you dead people. Go away from me and stay away." This procedure was repeated four times. This was thought to prevent any harm, but if the individual became sick, a shaman was called. During a dream a person's soul traveled around, returning before waking. A person should not be awakened suddenly since the soul might not have time to return.

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833 If men or women dreamed of sexual intercourse, it was proper to relate it upon waking. The dream was told after one exhaled and brushed one's hands away from the face four times. If this was not done, one's back would stiffen or "something like a young cottonwood tree will grow on your backbone so you can't bend before middle age." It was dangerous if one could not remember the details of a sexual dream. Then it would "stay in the heart" and one could not counteract it. There was no danger in forgetting an ordinary dream.

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774 If one dreamed of being in a precarious place, if awakened suddenly one must relate it and not keep it in the heart; otherwise either illness would occur or the spirit would fall from a cliff causing the person to be killed in the same way.

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763 The Havasupai had but few other omens of impending death. If one heard an owl hooting during the day or late in the evening, it meant that a close relative was dying somewhere. The noise of a porcupine could indicate the same. As one informant phrased it, "Those two are really proof, because we saw a porcupine in a tree where we camp out and go to bed. When it just got dark, when we thought we heard an owl say, 'h-hoo, h-hoo,' then 'ow, ow, ow,' we saw it was a porcupine. That was dangerous, so we took a gun, held sticks from the fire to see by, saw it by building up fire, and shot it. Just a few days later we met some boys who told us a close relative in Supai was dying. We were near Ashfork. We saw that it was proof."

On another occasion he dreamed of a wind that carried him to the south "where the air was good to breathe." On a mountain he saw a man who was a good talker. He also was "white" and "looks like a Supai, talks Supai." This man asked the shaman why he always traveled around through the sky. The shaman didn't answer but awakened.

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Concepts of Disease and Illness

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Virtually all sickness was believed to have been brought about by malevolent dreams, sorcery, or other supernatural causes.

Psychologically upsetting dreams, especially those involving the possibility of death or loss of the soul, were considered especially harmful. If the individual revealed the general nature of his dream, his family would consult a shaman, who would then sing in an interrogatory fashion to ascertain specific details. The practitioner could exorcise the evil either by sucking intrusive objects from the patient or, through songs, ensure the return of the soul. If a person repeatedly dreamed of a deceased relative, it was believed that the dead person wanted to take the living away. This was particularly true in the case of an individual who died while learning shamanistic powers.

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Shamans were often thought to be sorcerers who could produce illness either in others or in their own immediate families. Anyone who believed a shaman was harboring a particular grudge against him might come under such a spell. A deceased shaman could cause inanimate objects such as rocks, water, ground, air and the sun to make people ill. Bone fractures also were thought to have been caused by evil shamans, either living or dead. Other shamans could effect cures in the same way they counteracted dreams. Fractures were usually set by the shaman before he began to sing.

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The vision of a ghost could cause serious illness or death, although this was not invariable. It tended to afflict older persons more than children. Further, not all ghosts were considered malevolent. Again, shamans, by ascertaining the identity of the ghost, could rid the individual of the malady.

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Shamans themselves could become ill if they made errors in their cures of others or in other ways disobeyed instructions from their spirits. One case brought to our attention involved a shaman who, in an effort to suck a foreign object from a patient, made a mistake. It was reported that he became sick almost immediately and bled from the mouth. [The informant was unaware of the ill shaman's medical history of tuberculosis.] Another

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shaman was called upon to effect a cure.

Throughout his life he had been well respected, and
during his final illness received the well wishes of many visitors who were
deeply grieved at his approaching death.

The following day, in Havasupai village, Alva Jones, a village "crier,"
made the public announcement in a five minute oration in which he did not
mention the deceased by name, referring to him as "that old man who was
sick at Grand Canyon." He urged that the funeral be held in Supai and that
the body be returned there for burial, but indicated that the relatives would
make the decision.

Since the surviving relatives did not wish to suffer the expense of
bringing the body to Supai, burial was arranged at the Drift Fence (between
Grand Canyon village and Topocoba Hilltop) where the Havasupai have for
some years maintained a small cemetery.

Among the people in the canyon several were restless, especially at
night, and some reported seeing the ghost of Mexican Jack. It was not
felt that this apparition would be harmful, but that in wanting to talk to the
living it could be potentially dangerous.

Mexican Jack was buried at the Drift Fence within a day or two with
little ceremony.

On the afternoon of August 4th, Arthur Kaska, whose house was just
across a fence marking the public land used for recreation, mounted his
horse and rode to the recreation area, where rodeo practice was being
held. From a position on horseback near the cow chute, he called a lengthy
announcement to the effect that the funeral dance would be held that night.
He urged everyone to attend and told them that the dance would be held in
front of the house of Clark Jack, Mexican Jack's son.

By 8:30 p.m. a fire had been built in front of the house, and relatives
of the deceased had begun to gather around it. Mark Hanna came and ad-
dressed the nonrelatives who were grouped nearby. He requested that some-
one from the audience act as a speaker to remonstrate with the relatives
about weeping over the dead. There was no immediate response.

While Mark was talking, many other people arrived. It appeared that
everyone had walked to the ceremony. No horses were to be seen that night
or in the morning. (Havasupais, especially men and boys, usually ride
everywhere--except to funerals and the annual round dance.)

Soon the wailing by relatives began and people piled gifts of clothing
near the mourners. The relatives were standing together in a tight line,

765 Around 5:00 o'clock, when the sky was getting light, Guy Marshall and some other boys quickly dug a hole about 3 1/2 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 2 1/2 feet deep. They chopped some logs into short lengths and started a fire in it. Then someone came and asked Mack Putesoy to take charge of burning the clothing. Guy assisted him. Some boys removed it from the display rack and piled it on the east side of the firepit on top of two pasteboard boxes and a suitcase, containing Mexican Jack's personal clothing and possessions, on which Clark had sat throughout the night. Mack sprinkled this pile with a gallon of kerosene before consigning it to the flames.

765 After the last regular dance, all the dancers, led by James Wescogame
535 and Teddy, began the round dance. They again moved out of the dance area to the firepit and, with the round dance step, circled the fire and clothing, with Mack and Guy inside the circle, which moved to the left. Although Bela and one or two boys fell in at the end of the line after the women, the number of dancers was too few to form an enclosed circle around the fire area. They continued to dance until all the donated clothing was thrown on the fire. The last item consumed was the new chaps. Then the dancers stopped while the boxes and suitcase were emptied of their contents, and moved over to join the mourners and Mark, Arthur, and Allen, who had started to wail again when the fire was ignited. Arthur cried long and emotionally, with tears streaming down his face, his nose running, and saliva dripping from his mouth as he leaned forward so as not to soil his clothes. He had frequently wiped his tears away with his handkerchief during the night, and occasionally twisted it in his hands.

Clark kept wailing after the other mourners had stopped, accompanied only by Louis Sinyella, who wailed loudly in a deeper musical tone and a more ritual manner as he stood with his hand on Clark's shoulder.

965 Before the fire had burned down, but at the end of the wailing, people left. Those who had been sleeping in scattered groups around the area awoke and moved away. Only a few stayed behind to cover the hole and the fire.

[291] No participant had worn any costume or "badge of office." Men and women wore their usual clothing with no attempt at "dressing their best." A few men wore light overcoats or raincoats. Several women wore short jackets or sweaters, while a few boys wrapped themselves in blankets to ward off the early morning chill. The only special equipment used was the five rattles and the donated clothing.

● [775] The following night Mark reported that he had seen Mexican Jack's spirit around the ceremonial area the previous evening, and Teddy confided to Sidney that he had seen Mexican Jack's apparition standing beside him as he danced, and later saw in the fire when the clothes were burned.